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contends that life's complexity and the diversity of men's wants make it imperative that the reason shall be called in to investigate and to decide upon the many diverging claims put forward. Pragmatism thus ceases to be a wild man's country where all opinions are regarded as equally well-grounded, and Rationalism no more makes war on legitimate feelings and impulses. The fullest harmonious development of the individual and of society becomes accordingly the aim of the Pragmatist as of the Rationalist.

GUSTAV SPILLER.

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THE HEART OF MR. SPENCER'S ETHICS.

Many readers of Mr. Spencer's "Autobiography," already familiar with his philosophical writings, must have found themselves asking this question: Was Mr. Spencer's mind supremely interested in that process of universal evolution which he devoted his life to explaining, or in the mystery of that Creative Power which the human intellect fails to comprehend, or in the problem of human conduct conceived as man's conscious adaptation to the conditions of his existence? One must have studied Mr. Spencer's works and his life with more than usual diligence to answer this question with assurance.

It can, however, be answered. Numerous expressions throughout the "Synthetic Philosophy" indicate that Mr. Spencer regarded the formulation of a system of scientific ethics as the crowning achievement of intellectual effort, while the "Autobiography" and the personal recollections of his friends afford convincing evidence that from his earliest manhood until his death Mr. Spencer was ready under all circumstances to endure any hardship or to make any sacrifice that might be necessary to square his acts with the principles that he professed. If further proof were desired that Mr. Spencer regarded conduct as the supreme concern of mankind, it might be found in the unconcealed pain with which, in old age, he viewed the revival of militarism throughout the civilized world.

I had long been convinced that the most direct avenue to the heart of Mr. Spencer's philosophy of life lay through his ideas upon the subject of militarism, and in a conversation with him in the summer of 1896 this opinion was confirmed. Almost the first thing that he said after greeting me was: "You have come on a day that is in some respects the most interesting of my life. This morning I wrote the last paragraph of the last chapter of the last volume of the 'Synthetic Philosophy.'" I asked him if his satisfaction was as profound as he had anticipated that it would be, if he should live to complete so vast an undertaking. He answered that it was sadly diminished by a regret and by a disappointment.

The regret, as he went on to say, was that he had misled many readers by his phrase, "The Unknowable." In writing the "First Principles" he had tried to make clear his view that "knowledge" is a word that is properly used only as a name for the products of intellectual processes, and that its meaning is not broad enough to include all that lies back of them, but the reality of which we are compelled to accept as absolute verity. Realizing now how inattentive even intelligent readers are, he was sorry that he had not, by fuller explanations or by a different phrasing, compelled the most careless of readers to understand that "The Unknowable" is such only in the sense that the Creative Power baffles every attempt of the intellect to formulate it in conceptual terms.

Keener, however, than this regret that the aged philosopher felt in having failed to make himself perfectly understood, was his disappointment in the world's progress. It seemed to him that human society, having developed through all the stages of militarism and of industrialism, until it was on the point of becoming a complex of voluntary activities and relations subject to that law of equal freedom which was set forth in "Social Statics," was apparently about to be put back, perhaps for a thousand years, by war and "regimentation."

The conversation following this confession revealed clearly that Mr. Spencer, abhorring theology and sure that neither he nor any other could "by searching find out God or know the Almighty," was yet a man of deep religious feeling, which

found practical expression through a process of conversion into intense ethical interest. It was obvious, too, that in old age, as when in early life he wrote those most suggestive concluding chapters of the "Social Statics," Mr. Spencer was convinced that the problem of human character is inseparable from the problem of the habitual activities of socially organized groups.

Events have moved rapidly since 1896, and in reflecting upon them I have many times recalled Mr. Spencer's words, and have wondered why I did not think then, when I had so good an opportunity, to ask him to explain to me how he could reconcile his disappointment with his own explanation of the causes of militarism, whenever and wherever prevailing. I am now satisfied that there was a certain conflict between Mr. Spencer's philosophy and his feeling about the modern situation, and that it revealed better than any other one fact in his life or in his teaching the true nature of the man. There was a point beyond which he was unable to adapt his moral emotions to the logical requirements of his philosophical scheme.

The postulate of evolution, according to Mr. Spencer, is the equilibration of energy. Wherever a body highly charged with energy is in contact or communication with a body under-charged there must be a discharge from one to the other. Among organic species and in human populations equilibration becomes a conquest, an exploitation, or a transformation of the weak by the strong. So long as races, nations, political and economic classes remain widely unequal in any kind of strength, the process must continue. Or, if having for a time subsided because natural or artificial barriers to further contact have been reached, it must again begin whenever the barriers are broken through.

Mr. Spencer must have seen that the attainment of a relatively perfect form of liberal social organization in England, France and the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century was the result of prolonged military struggles and of class antagonisms, that had terminated, for the time being, in a balance of power among the nations, and in an approximate equality of economic and political opportunity within the state.

He must have seen also that the extension of communication throughout the world would bring strong and weak races, western and eastern civilizations hitherto kept safely apart, into close contact, and would precipitate a transformation of the weak by the strong on a scale unprecedented; and that the exploitation of natural resources with the aid of scientific discovery and invention must revive the struggle between economic classes. And finally, he must have seen that only when these gigantic equilibrations shall be substantially completed can there be world-wide peace and a final disappearance of militarism with its correlated type of character.

Seeing and understanding all these things, as I am sure he must have done, Mr. Spencer's inability to look upon the process with equanimity and to reconcile himself to it without bitterness, was a crowning proof of the intensity of his abhorrence of all aggression. Believing that only through the widest possible liberty of the individual and through the maintenance of impartial justice can human happiness be attained, he could not look calmly upon the long and cruel struggle that the human race has yet to sustain, before universal equality of liberty and opportunity are established.

Nevertheless, the ideal that Mr. Spencer cherished is no vain dream. By his own showing all the forces of the universe make for its ultimate realization. Moreover, all that has been attained thus far of sympathy, of idealism, of liberty, will ameliorate the warfare that is yet before us. The equilibration of energy throughout the human population of the world will not, as in the past, inevitably take the form of an extermination, or even a ruthless exploitation, of the weak. More and more the energies of the strong will transform the weak in humane ways, above all by economic stimulation and educational uplifting. In this amelioration, that enlightenment of the human mind, and that wholesome bracing of moral purpose, to which Mr. Spencer's teaching, and still more his blameless life, were a noble contribution, will be no insignificant factors.

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